His career as a country newspaperman included four years in posts ranging from circulation solicitor and advertising manager to city editor. In 1914 he returned to the university to teach under Williams.[16]

c. Arrival and Career in China.

The events which brought Powell to China were highly circumstantial. While instructing courses in advertising, Powell fell heir to a cable sent to Dean Williams from a former Missouri journalist, Thomas F. Millard, requesting the assistance of a graduate of the journalism school in starting a paper in Shanghai. It was the first trans-oceanic telegram Powell had ever seen. His recollection of the event was that the "idea of a trip to the Orient was too much of a temptation."[17] Thus he joined the exodus of Missouri journalists who seemed to gain a near-monopoly of American journalism in China. He had little premonition that he would stay twenty-five years.

In making the decision to embark on his 10,000 mile adventure, Powell revealed much of the pioneer spirit native to his Missouri upbringing. He knew neither what type of paper was to be published nor what his duties on it were to be. Furthermore, what little knowledge of China he had was extracted from the rather one-sided and disillusioned accounts of a veteran nineteenth century missionary, Arthur H. Smith. Smith's books were the only two on China to be found in the Missouri library.[18]

Powell's own account of the first incidents to make an impression on him after disembarking in Shanghai in early February, 1917 also provide some insight into his character and his response to the Chinese environment in which he was to operate. His humane inclinations prompted his refusal to ride a rickshaw from the dock to the Astor Hotel, several blocks away, for, as he relates, "I was still too new to the Orient to feel at ease in a vehicle

drawn by a human being." [19]

Upon arriving at the Astor, Powell received his baptism into the foreign society of Shanghai's International Settlement. Although the news of America's diplomatic break with Germany had just become known a few moments earlier, Powell recalls that the group of prominent Shanghai residents to whom Millard had introduced him were interested only in discussing the possibilities of prohibition in the United States and the rising cost of drinks in Shanghai. [20]

Powell was to eventually clash with many of these second and third generation Shanghai residents, but it can hardly be said that he was at the outset estranged from the institutions and customs of his new treaty port surroundings. His arrival in Shanghai coincided with the rapid growth of the American population there and a substantial increase in American business interests and community projects. [21]

During the winter of 1917 Powell participated in the organization and construction of two American clubs, a school and a community church. In that same year the American Chamber of Commerce was formed and Powell served as an active member and was later elected its secretary. [22] In fact, in 1920 when Powell traveled to America in order to establish advertising contacts for The Review, he was requested by the Chamber to go to Washington to lobby for a China Trade Act providing Federal incorporation for American concerns doing business in the Far East. This he did, finally seeing the bill through Congress in 1921. Just before his planned return to China at the end of that year, however, Powell decided to remain in Washington to cover the Washington Conference. [23] This decision was to have a profound impact on Powell's subsequent views and analysis of events in China and, just as important, on his future interpretations of United States policy in East Asia.

Powell returned to Shanghai in May, 1922, where he

remained for the better part of the next twenty years. Although he soon assumed sole ownership of The Review, the paper served in some ways as merely a base from which he covered the whole of East Asia and from which he traveled into Siberia and the Soviet Union. From 1918-38 Powell was a correspondent for the Chicago Tribune and, curiously enough, also reported for the Manchester Guardian and the London Daily Herald. At one point in his career he handled all three assignments simultaneously, a task a less objective newsman might have found difficult to handle. He once remarked that he concentrated only on reporting the facts as he found them, without giving attention to the editorial policy of the paper he reported for.[24]

Following the establishment of the Nanking regime under the Kuomintang, Powell became a staunch supporter of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government. At the same time, The Review's frank criticism and stark portrayal of Japan's actions and ambitions in China earned for it the hatred of the Japanese. After 1931 Powell was made propositions, threatened, and on one occasion, even had an assasin bounce a hand grenade off his shoulder in Japanese attempts to curb his activities. However, none of these attempted persuasions had any visible effect on The Review's columns.

By 1941 Powell reportedly ranked high on a list compiled by the Japanese secret police of newspapermen who were considered dangerous to Japan's interests in China and the Pacific.[25] After Pearl Harbor the Japanese had their revenge by placing Powell in Shanghai's infamous Bridge House Prison. He remained there five months until he was returned to the United States in a prisoner exchange in May, 1942. Though often presented with the opportunity of signing a Japanese-prepared confession in exchange for improved treatment, Powell refused even when his body succumbed to undernourishment and cramped, pestiferous living quarters.

As a result of his imprisonment he was crippled by gangrene and beriberi and afterwards spent three years in hospitals in the United States where he underwent a succession of operations to recover the use of his legs. Despite his hopes he was never again able to personally run The Review. His son, William, revived the journal after World War II and continued to publish in Shanghai until 1953.

In February, 1947, at the age of 60, Powell died while addressing a luncheon of the University of Missouri Alumni Association.[26] An ardent supporter of the so-called China Lobby after the Second World War, his last words cautioned Republican Congressional leaders to avoid the pitfalls of hasty disarmament in the Pacific.[27] His belief in the Chinese nationalist movement and in the Kuomintang as its most viable representative, and in United States leadership and responsibility in the Far East, had remained with him throughout his career.

d. The China Weekly Review.

The Review's editorial policy, then Millard's Review of The Far East, had probably been set before the appearence of its first edition in 1917. In response to Powell's query as to what sort of news the paper would print, Millard had proclaimed: "We'll print anything we damn please!"[28] Powell assumed sole financial and editorial control of the journal after he returned to China in 1922. He changed its name and inserted as a permanent addition to the masthead which dominated The Review's cover page the creed: "Devoted to the Economic, Political and Social Development of China and its Intercourse with Other Nations."[29] From the editor's standpoint at least, this together with the tone originally set by Millard formed a dual basis for The Review's policy thereafter.

From the very beginning Powell transcended the comparatively narrow boundaries of the immediate treaty port community in which he lived and worked. The columns of The Review were not only open to Chinese contributors but directed to the Chinese as well as the foreign reader. He recognized almost immediately that the potential readers and contributors were not limited to the Anglo-American community. In addition to the hundreds of English-reading, multinational foreigners residing in the treaty ports, there also existed a large and growing body of English-reading Chinese. These were mostly younger generation Chinese intellectuals and students, graduates or undergraduates of mission and municipal schools who had been awakened to an interest in world affairs and, particularly during and after World War I, in America and United States policies and actions. [30]

Powell credited himself with being the first foreign editor in China to discover the young English-reading Chinese subscriber; in fact, he found that this constituted the largest group of all his potential readers. He later learned that many Chinese students used The Review as a textbook, and he personally undertook the promotion and organization of clubs and classes to study current events in colleges and universities. For a while he taught a course in journalism in one of the colleges. [34]

He also uncovered another class of reader---the "outport" subscriber. These were missionaries, businessmen and foreign officials who lived in some remote town or region and figuratively "lived" out of the advertisements to be found in the foreign press. [32]

Powell modeled his format on the New Republic, a leading liberal American periodical whose influence on him quite possibly exceeded style alone. However, The Review's content and approach differed from the New Republic's to the extent that it emphasized news reports and contributed articles dealing with political, commercial and financial subjects resembling an English

economic review.

From the outset he determined to give as complete a story as possible of events in the local, national (Chinese) and Far Eastern world. Powell opened his pages to numerous Chinese writers expressing a broad gamut of views on various issues and personalities in China. What's more, Powell employed regional correspondents who regularly reported in special columns. Summaries of both the indigenous Chinese and the American press became regular features. Another weekly column chronologically outlined the major happenings throughout the Far East. Locally, special notice was given to business, financial and economic news. This included detailed charts listing the weekly import and export figures and other commercial transactions of the port.

Added to the wide scope of its news coverage were an average of four or five editorials, educational articles on China, and a book review section dealing with current works on the Far East. Occasionally, The Review also came forth with special enlarged editions focusing on specific contemporary subjects. For example, during the period with which this study is concerned, Powell devoted entire issues to the Tariff Conference of 1925-26, the work of the Commission on Extraterritoriality, and an examination of Greater Shanghai. [38]

e. The Influence of the Washington Conference.

If any one event can be said to signify the opening of a breach between the thinking of Powell and that of his Shanghai contemporaries, it was the Washington Conference, however subtly and indirectly it performed this role.

Being on the scene and viewing the proceedings from a Sino-centric perspective, Powell saw the Nine-Power Treaty with China as the central document produced at the

Conference. He found the essence of a "declaration of independence" for China in the proclamations of respect for the political independence and territorial integrity of China, the preservation of the Open Door, the seating of China at an international conference as a "free and independent power" and in the provisions for a conference to revise the Chinese tariff and a commission to investigate the matter of extraterritoriality.[34]

In addition, he interpreted the intention of the Powers as eventual relinquishment of their special privileges in China, including a clear renunciation of the old sphere-of-influence doctrine. Powell saw the United States' role at the Conference as laying the foundation for a "new deal" in American Far Eastern policy whereby America assumed leadership in guarenteeing the provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty.[35] In every instance, he accepted as axiomatic a peaceful approach to solving future problems.

Powell's analysis of the Washington Conference markedly affected his assumptions on China and contributed to his later variance with the Shanghai foreign community. It is therefore worth noting the importance of Powell's presence at the Conference.

Powell's personal coverage of the Conference could conceivably have conveyed to him a much different impression of American intention and policy, as well as of the meaning and import of the Conference itself with respect to Chinese affairs, than was received some 12,000 miles away in necessarily abbreviated and artificial news reports. Throughout the revolutionary period a communications problem between North America and East Asia delayed and possibly even obscured the transmission of news. Because of the excessive cable rates (forty cents a word compared to eight cents a word across the Atlantic), none of the Shanghai papers received news direct from American news services. Consequently, the papers depended entirely upon the British

Reuter's service which reported American news by the circuitous London-Calcutta-Singapore-Hong Kong route. 36 Shanghai therefore was not in direct touch with either official or public opinion in the United States.

This factor may also have played an important part not only in the construction and orientation of American public opinion toward Chinese events during the critical years of 1925-28, but in shaping attitudes in China with regard to United States policy. Certainly the preference given by correspondents in their direct news dispatches to happenings of a sensational and often violent nature did much to arouse and channel American press and public opinion toward China during this period.

f. Editorial Approach.

In its editorial content, The Review, at least during the period under examination, expressed a curious combination of subjective and objective ingredients traceable to Powell's background and early experience.

Subjectively, he presented a vigorous approach imbued with the muckraking spirit and moral platitudes common to the American press in the early twentieth century and seemingly typical of the whole brand of Missouri journalism so prominent in the period. These qualities produced frequent idealistic attacks and negative criticisms of the established order which were applied with equal vigor whether the authority in question was the administration of the Shanghai International Settlement in the 1920's or the Japanese forces in China during the Thirties. These editorial crusades provided, for the most part, only superficial and inadequate alternative plans. Powell had a naive faith in human nature and assumed a minimum rationality in human action amidst circumstances resplendent in the absence of such elements.

Certain credible and admirable features of sound journalism went hand-in-hand with these subjective qualities. First of all, Powell was a good, competent reporter. The Review coverage sought out all sides of a story, as illustrated by its report of the well-known May 30, 1925 incident which presented in full not only the report of the Shanghai police but a complete student account as well.[37] Furthermore, Powell provided a historical depth and long-range perspective to most of the issues of his time, seeking an intelligent and informed basis upon which to analyze Chinese conditions and events. In so doing, he was not uncritical of either Chinese faults or individuals. His objectivity also led him to criticize United States policy, as well as that of the other Powers, whenever he felt it was warranted.

Powell also posed the relevant questions of his time and sought the answers, however inadequate they might have been. By and large, he avoided the editorial imagery and sensational half-truths so often displayed by his arch competitor, the British-owned North China Daily News and Herald. His policies sought out moderate elements on both the Chinese and foreign sides and successfully eluded the war psychology of many in the International Settlement. Finally, Powell gathered, reported and interpreted the news of the Chinese scene as he saw it and printed the truth as he understood it. He was not a mercenary journalist. His courageousness was equally great before the relatively mild financial threat posed by the possible loss of foreign advertisers and the more ominous danger of physical violence offered by the Japanese.

Whatever value judgments are finally made upon The Review and its approach to China, there can be little doubt that under Powell's hand it became unique in Shanghai and outstanding among the foreign press in the country.

It is only against the complicated mosaic of intertwined issues and conflicts that The Review's efforts and Powell's outlook and policies achieve meaning. Therefore it is necessary to turn now to a consideration of the questions which he confronted and the analysis and solutions he offered.

III. Shanghai, the Nationalist Revolution and the Transformation of Powell's Thought.

J.B. Powell undoubtedly felt that many of the questions outstanding between the Treaty Powers and the Chinese could find their solution in the manner in which the foreign community handled the local issues of Shanghai. The development of his policies toward a readjustment of Sino-Foreign relations in the International Settlement reflect his outlook and approach as he surveyed problems of broader scope during the critical years of the Nationalist revolution.

The transformation of Powell's position during this two-year period from a gradualist, evolutionary stand to the advocation of a more "radical" solution to the virulent questions he faced was the result of a combination of forces. Basic was the predisposition and body of experience he brought to China from America. Reinforcing this mental framework was his response to the change in the intensity and nature of the Chinese revolution and the growing intransigence of the foreign community to these changes.

It is impossible to artificially separate the development of Powell's editorial approach toward the problems in Shanghai and the question of treaty revision from the progression of events unfolding in China and the interpretations applied to them by the disparate elements of the foreign community. Intertwined with these broader issues which produced an open conflict and eventual break between Powell and certain